/40 cont./
which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements.

Charms

789 538 825 Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún, which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

285 789 538 Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

773 291 789 538 Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

This is the so-called tauróm, or
291 /40 cont./
789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

000 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

/42 cont./

and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones; the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

/47 cont./

690 Every religious concept presupposes or includes within itself these three motivations: reverential love, supplication, and gratitude. Magic, by contrast, hides beneath its cloak these three opposites: fear or dread, imperative conjury, and selfish material interest. For this reason magic has been called a vain religion, that is, hollow, empty, with only an outward appearance, a mere hull or husk. "Magic," says Grandmaison, "is nothing but formulism, pure self-interest. Science without a basis, falsification or corruption of true religion, deals with its object without respect and without love."

104. Fundamentally, thus, religion and magic represent the eternal struggle between the spiritual and material, soul and body, sincerity and hypocrisy, formulism and realism: worship in spirit and in truth as opposed to worship in this or that exact /48/ place and with many artful words, to rend the heart as opposed to rending clothes, to offer a contrite and humble heart as opposed to offerings in the spirit of ransom and bribery, to avoid hypocrisy and not pharisaic lightness, to fear not that which kills the body but that which demoralizes the spirit, to avoid not the legally impure contact with certain things or others, nor eating with unwashed hands, but the action, the word, and even the intimate evil desire, etc., etc., according to the teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

776 782 105. The result is that the Indians do not love but fear the disembodied spirits or orodán and mauarí, as possible agents of purely physical ills; neither do they invoke them with submission or reverence; they try to disarm or bribe them with material things, which they desire or fear the same as we do; finally, these spirits are not offended by immoral actions but by physical actions, nor do they take over the evil person, but the weak, the sick, etc.

• 789 The sorcerer does not supplicate, properly speaking, any superior being; he believes that he knows a means by which some things or natural causes work upon others or find themselves obliged to work. As a certain author states, magic is the art

/48 cont./

789 of subduing the forces of nature by certain acts which only affect it in appearance. And thus we have among these Indians the fact that the charms never use deprecative or desiderative formulas, but the aseverative present with exaggerating and emphatic particles multiplied to the extreme.

000 106. But the world of magic also has its philosophy or its principles, true or false, since in every human mind there exists innately the idea of causality, belief in a link of effect or cause, in constant succession and in permanent laws. In the matter which concerns us, Frazer's theory to explain the phenomenon or the world of magic is based upon the supposition that in the mind of those who practice it, whether privative /sic/ or not, the following two notions exist:

a) That which is similar produces that which is similar; an effect is similar to its cause; that which is similar influences that which is similar.
b) Things which have been in contact continue to influence each other mutually even after having lost the physical contact; the part influences the whole.

789 This theory has a complete and perfect application among the Pemón Indians.

These two principles, true only in appearance, are extremely fertile in true, undisguised conditions; /plate appears here/ /49/ they should be kept very much in mind, since they are still dominant in many minds -- both of natives and of non-natives -- in all of the fields of human activity. The belief that that which by operating upon the image, the name, the part, etc., operates upon what they represent or the whole is so deeply rooted in humanity that it maintains itself at the side of religion and despite all of its prohibitions.

107. From the first of the principles stated come the magical practices of homeopathy, mimetic or imitative.

/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice [754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that [513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with [224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the [252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out [755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils; [787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite [787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g. moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog..., following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To 855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac- 846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having 789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

789 /50 cont./
855 degree than in the progenitors themselves -- tender young
846 children unless they are counteracted by the force of the charms for each case or matter.

789 The practices and abstentions related to the death of rela-
753 tives are based similarly on the supposition that the decomposi-
761 tion of the body of the dead causes infections and stench in
783 all the relatives, producing in them sores, eruptions, decomposition, and similar things; for this reason they must abstain from contact with all others in order not to contaminate them, cannot prepare meals for them, etc.

489 In summation of the foregoing we can transcribe these words from the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Savage and barbarian societies, and in general always those that are ignorant of the causes of physical or psychic phenomena, man has attempted to oppose the nefarious influence of the spirits which he supposes surround him by means of a series of magic rites -- mimetic and oral...." To these words we must add that, as can be observed from some of the examples cited above, not only is the attempt made to counteract the evil influences of the spirits proper, but also other corporal, but mysterious, beings.

Chapter XIII

Do the Indians Practice Divination?

800

109. The innate curiosity of all men. 110. Among the Indians, neither more nor less. 111. Invocation of the dead. 112. Omens. 113. The interpretation of dreams. 114. Casuality and causality. 115. The "just in case."

109. The innate curiosity of men, which is said to be the beginning of all knowledge, recognizes no barriers; and sometimes with leaden feet, with well tho[illegible]t out arguments and

/53 cont./

787 f) The plant called puuá is a good omen and they say of
[824] it that it chases hunger away from their homes.

The interpretation of dreams, as we have already said when dealing with magic, was so done by analogy, and thus the Indians say that:

a) To dream that we are looking in a mirror is a warning that we shall encounter the gleaming eyes of a tiger.

[226] b) To dream that we are poisoning fish with verbasco
[824] /great mullein/ while standing in the water is a sign that we are going to catch cold.

c) To dream that we see an Indian dragging a palm tree is a warning that we shall meet a palm bear /oso palmero/ with a long tail.

d) To dream that one has a parrot or other domestic bird on one's arm is a sign to women that a son will come to them, whom they will caress.

e) To dream that we see hills in the distance is a notice that we shall meet Indians carrying great loads on their backs in their guayares.

787 In the interpretation of omens and fantasies there pre-
● 789 dominates the magic principle, "that which is similar is produced by that which is similar and disguises itself in that which is similar."

But in addition to this, accidental coincidences and a succession of linkings in time or space have no doubt been able to engender in the human spirit the false idea of inclusion and casuality, following the well-known paralogism: "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc." So that causality is frequently confused with casuality (grammatically and philosophically) and coincidence with joint cause.

787 I have often heard the Indians arguing among themselves about these same matters, dividing themselves among those who tenaciously believe in dreams and omens and those who doubt them and do not see in them anything other than fortuitous

/57 cont./

784 2. Pubescent girls must not eat twin fruits, so that they
845 may not conceive twins.

3. The parents of a newborn child must not eat paují
846 meat, because it will make the child turn yellow. Let it
784 be remembered that the paují has a yellow face, very striking in contrast to the extreme blackness of its frizzled crest.

4. The parents of a newborn child must not walk barefoot over rocky or hot sandy places, lest the child should suffer.

5. They must not carry heavy loads either, because the child's neck will become bent and he will suffer from fatigue.

6. They must abstain from sexual relations, since these will produce fever and vomiting in the children.

7. If the father of the newborn should noisily knock down large rocks from high hills, the child will suffer from fright and horrors and will tremble during its sleep.

8. If the father of the newborn cuts certain vines, /58/ his child's navel will become infected or will swell up, depending on whether those vines rot or swell up.

789 The Pemón are not, at the present time, exaggerated in
846 the practice of these observances; they observe them for only a few days and this because of the preachings of their fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law. Then, since they know the charms for each case and each thing to counteract evil influences, they return to ordinary life.

765 122. Another custom, the twin of the couvade and based
753 on the same principle of sympathy or sympathetic influence, is the asarakpué, or observances which must be followed by the relatives of the dead. This is not only observing mourning or showing sadness; they consider themselves infected by the rotting of the corpse of the dead relative and as foci of infection for all they touch.

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

776 b) These piá or -imá (call them genii, godlets, or numbers) are neither offended nor pleased by moral or immoral actions, but by physical actions -- sometimes substances -- which are damaging or pleasing to them or to their descendants.

753 To the native mentality true good things are this life and that which is related to it, health especially, food, etc.; and the bad things also true are illnesses /two plates appear here/ /97/ and pains and, especially, death, the most terrible and most feared evil, not so much because it is the unknown which opens into the beyond, but principally because of the loss of the good things and family so loved here.

775 To the Pemón there is no doubt but that the soul survives,
787 although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation.

756 c) Finally, we have in place of acts of worship various
788 observances, based on a belief in the afore-mentioned numbers
778 or potorí; in place of priests, the piaches; in place of prayer, the charms which we have already defined in another place, and, in lieu of the supernatural, the magical.

789 We would say once more that magic, although dealing with spiritual influences, is not religion; it does not deal with morality, but with physical acts, corporally maleficent or beneficent, psychic only insofar as the soul is united with the

/97 cont./

789 body; consequently magic is more medicine than religion with regard to its intent, though in appearances it may well resemble the latter more than medicine.

And the charms, we have said, are not prayers or supplications, but conjurations. A. Condamin says that "the mere praising of the Gods without ulterior intention (interest) does not exist in Assyrian-Babylonian worship." We can say this much more about the Pemón Indians. The charms do not employ a deprecative form, but a positive one, and they do not use the active voice, but the reflexive, for example, esesati, e-taremba, e-puirema, to be asked /ask itself/, to be charmed /charm itself/, to be prayed /pray itself/, etc.

209. To know whence the Indians may have got this mentality, it would suffice to recall what we said at the beginning of this work about the imagination of the Indians. Throughout the course of these dissertations there appears most clearly this truth: That the road of religion and of science, as the truths that they are, is a narrow and hard way (ratiocination and syllogism); by contrast, the road of magic with all of its ramifications is a broad and easy way (imagination and paralogism). We ask with E. Hello: "What is it that characterizes the savage state?" And with him we answer: "It is the fantasy of the individual, it is the absolute license given to that fantasy ... the license overflows on every side just as liquid escapes from a broken glass."

When speaking of imagination, we also emphasized the facet of terror. And we would now say with Grandmaison that "fear mixed with respect, which is the beginning of adoration, could thus be attached to the great natural /98/ celestial or meteorical forces: the sky, sun, and moon, the stars and planets, the hurricane and lightning, the rain and fire. With no difficulty is worship directed toward these elevated, terrible or beneficent powers -- regular and regulating or instantaneous and disturbing." We could apply this fully to the Pemón if we expect the fact that they do not render any adoration.

/98 cont./

771 210. If we should allow ourselves to be guided by the afore-mentioned currents among those who study religions among the more primitive races, we would say that these aborigines were "worshipers of the natural forces"; but through intimate knowledge of their ideas, I can only say that they are invokers or conjurers of them.

Although it might be with a certain redundancy, I wish to insist still upon explaining what it is that the Pemón Indians understand by these potorí or piá, which form one of the bases of that suprasensible world, and why they invoke them. I believe that by availing myself of some examples, I shall be able to explain this matter.

825 a) The Indians observe, for example, that the wild pig,
789 or váquiro, is not poisoned by eating bitter or poisonous yucca;
955 from this they deduce that the progenitor or first father of the váquiros endowed all of his descendants with a singular force: consequently, when there does occur a chance poisoning due to the ingestion of bitter yucca, they invoke or conjure the piyinké potorí, without thereby believing themselves dependent upon it or inferior to it in other cases.

b) The Indians observe that mice, acures, and other rodents always have hard feces; from this they deduce that their progenitors endowed them with an immunity to intestinal decompositions, diarrhea, etc.: consequently, when they find themselves afflicted with or complaining of these ills, they charm their beverages by invoking the potorí of the afore-mentioned rodents.

825 c) The Indians observe that the araguato /American
789 monkey/, despite being a relatively small animal, has a loud voice; thus when they get hoarse or, besides this, whenever they wish to obtain a powerful and sonorous voice, they invoke the father of the araguatos.

789 d) The Indians observe that sand and ashes absorb a large
755 quantity of water or any other liquid; thus when they wish to

789 /98 cont./
755 stop hemorrhages or discharges of any sort, they invoke the piá or pachí, let's call them the mother of ashes and sand, which are driers.

[821] e) Indians observe that when the wind blows, it moves away the clouds and the sky becomes clear; thus they invoke the big wind, the father of the wind, when their vision is clouded. /99/

No less than a hundred examples like these could be presented of beneficent charms, to obtain good things or health, or maleficent ones, to produce evils to enemies; but I believe that those here noted are sufficient.

211. From this cursory exposition which we have just made of the religion of the Pemón, it can clearly be deduced how deeply in error are those who believe that in order to teach them our Christian religion we must forcibly enter into their soul casting devils from it as one casts down idols from an altar; nothing of the sort, all we need do is get out of their heads the anthromorphization of natural forces and the magical invocation of the same in order to substitute for them the true physical concept of things and their qualities and the true application or appropriation of the same by means of medicine, whether it be by external application or by ingestion.

Nor need we make any great effort to eliminate these ideas, which can remain as adornments or threads to be used in the flowery work of the imagination, always so long as upon them we can place the true rational and Christian theology of a Creator and Savior God of all things, especially of man; the future life, not of fantasy and conjecture, but a real and eternal place after the terrestrial and temporally ephemeral one, and different, depending upon the actions taken here below, and above all things, God's love for us and that we must profess Him, and the love of charity which must always reign among all men on earth.

754 and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was
[797] at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to
[128] the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáne. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler
535 spells and are called generically ɛremba. The most common is the okōyima-ɛremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

751 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by every-
535 one but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to⁷-esa⁵) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they
[789] did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara
533 songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-
[224] day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kama-
[789] rakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]